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public familiar with German literature at a time when his countrymen knew scarcely more than two German authors, Schiller and Goethe, and but one work of each, *The Robbers* and *Werther*.

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Pandaemonium germanicum, BY J. M. R. LENZ.

The only commentary on Lenz's satire *Pandaemonium germanicum* is, as far as I know, the one given by A. Sauer in his edition of the work in the eightieth vol. of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nat. Lit.* It seems to me, however, that these notes are somewhat incomplete; in the following article I shall, therefore, try to complete them as much as possible. In quoting the *P. g.* I have in view the edition of Sauer; the first number indicates the page; the second, the line.

FIRST ACT.

139, 3: "Der steile Berg."—The conception of a mountain dominates the whole first act. Is it original or borrowed?

The first act, as will be seen later on in detail, is influenced by the five authors: Bodmer, Milton, the writer of *Prometheus*, *Deukalion u. s. R.*, and Chr. H. Schmid. Of course, the idea of a mountain, conceived as the abode of the Muses, is familiar to all connoisseurs of Greek literature; it is, however, probable that Lenz was induced to use the figure by a suggestion from outside. The impulse came to him from the article of Chr. H. Schmid, published November, 1774, in Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*, titled: "Kritische Nachrichten vom Zustande des deutschen Parnasses." That Lenz was acquainted with the article at the time when he wrote the *P. g.* follows from his epigram to Gotter:

Gotter:

Es wimmelt heutzutag von Sekten
Auf dem Parnass.

Lenz:

Und von Insekten.

The epigram is first found in a letter to Lavater (April, 1775). Lenz had reason to feel hurt. Schmid's article enumerates the different "Sekten"

of contemporary German poetry and classes Lenz among the followers of Hamann. Lenz took up the subject of a critical review as well as the general conception of a Parnasse, changing it however according to his own views.

To turn to the details of the first act, Schmid's division into different "Sekten" may have caused the first act to be divided into four parts. The last three scenes are called "die Nachahmer" (2), "die Philister" (3), "die Journalisten" (4). The first scene has no title, but it can easily be imagined, that, but for the accusation of utter egotism, Lenz would have called it "die Originale."

The impulse received from Schmid's article was not acted upon before February, 1775. We know that the first scene of the first act was written out before February 20, 1775 (Froitzheim, *Zu Strassburgs St.-u. Drg. Zeit*, 75). That it was not written before February, we can conclude from the similarities with Nicolai's *Freuden des jungen Werthers*, which appeared February, 1775.

In this pamphlet Nicolai writes, apparently referring to Lenz: "Auch sah er . . . dass mehr Stärke des Geistes dazu gehöre . . . als wenn tobende, endlose Leidenschaft ruft, einen jäh'n Berg (ohn' Absicht) klettern, durch einen unwegsamen Wald einen Pfad (der zu nichts führt) durcharbeiten, durch Dorn und Hecken."¹ Nicolai also uses the expression "Pandaemonium" ("wie ein klein Teufelchen im Pand.")² "Schmeiss-fliegen,"³ (cf. *P. g.*, 144, 10).

In *P. g.*, 144, 12 "Sie (Journalisten) bekommen die Gestalt kleiner Jungen und laufen auf dem hohen Berge herum, Hügelein auf Hügelein ab" reminds one of Nicolai's:⁴ "Dass ihr Springinsfelde Werther würdet, damit hat's nicht Not, dazu habt 'r'n Zeug nicht" Nicolai speaks of a mountain, which is "jäh," covered by "Dorn und Hecken," which cannot be ascended except by "klettern." Cf. in *P. g.* "steil" (139, 3), "ganz mit Busch überwachsen" (139, 15), "klettern" (139, 20. 140, 6).

Further details of the first act point to an influence of Bodmer's *Noah* upon the *P. g.* There is an apparent resemblance between the first song of *Noah* and the first scene of the first act in *P. g.* on

¹*D. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 72, 379.

²*Ibid.*, 379.

³*Ibid.*, 367.

⁴*D. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 72, 369.

the one hand, and between the fifth song of *Noah* and the second and fourth scenes of the first act in *P. g.* on the other hand.

What are the contents of the two songs? Briefly these:

In both places the conception of a mountain is predominant. In *Noah*, I., the mountain is represented as the home of the chosen people, while the wicked live in the plain, from which the mountain rises. Noah lives with his family at the base. One day he goes to the people in the plain; since he is long in coming, Japhet, his son, goes up the mountain until he comes to a rock, from which he looks out for his father. He sees a strange crowd in the plain, approaching the mountain. He goes further up and meets three maidens coming down. Conversation ends the first song. In *Noah*, v., the giants of the plain try to take the mountain by assault; they are thrown down. Then they hope to overcome it by means of a balloon, but again without any success.

Have we not here the prototype of our first act: "Japhet = Lenz and Goethe, the giants = Nachahmer and Journalisten, Japhet's look-out = the rock in 139, 26, the three maidens = ein Haufen Fremde" in 142, 1?

The resemblance becomes still more evident if we carry our comparison further.

In *Noah* the mountain is called "paradiesisch" (I., 39), is represented as having "einen hängenden Rand" (I., 101), different "Seiten" (I., 57; cf. also the pyramid-like "Treppe" of the giants in v., 74 ff.), as being surrounded by "furchtbare Klippen" (I., 55) and covered by "Busch," "niederer Gesträuch" (v., 86-87). It affords a splendid view (I., 48), rises in terraces (I., 98 ff.), etc.

In *P. g.* the mountain has also different sides (139, 5, 15. 140, 21). The "Nachahmer" stand at the foot of it on "Feldsteinen" (140, 24). It is "ganz mit Busch überwachsen" (139, 15), rises in terraces (140, 16: "Gehen beide einer anderen Anhöhe zu"), and affords a splendid view (139, 28).

Further analysis in this regard and also such as are illustrative of the relations of the *P. g.* to Milton's *Paradise Lost* and to *Prom. D. u. s. R.* will be given below.

139, 29: Cf. the letter of Luise König to Madame Hess, February 20, 1775: "Es geht ihnen wie dem, der Klopstocken in seiner Höhe

nicht sehen konnte" (Froitzheim, *Zu Strassburgs, u. s. w.*, 75).

140, 12: "Bruder Göthe," "Liebgen," "Lieber," used by Lenz in letters to Goethe (*Sitz. Ber. der Kön. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, xli., 1901, 35-36.)

140, 18: "die Nachahmer"—Who is referred to? Not Klinger, Wagner or the like, but evidently writers of favorable reviews on Goethe's *Werther*. This follows from a comparison of 140, 20 ff., with *Prometheus*, etc., II, 123 ff. The passage in *Prometheus* seems to reappear more or less in *P. g.*, and since *Prometheus*, II, 123 ff., refer to Löwe ("Hamburg. unpart. Korrespondent"), we may infer that he, Heinse and such admirers of Goethe's *Werther* are here in the writer's mind.

140, 19. Cf. *Noah*, I., 57 ff. v., 85 ("Altan").

140, 20 ff.: "Meine werten Herren, wollt ihr's eben so gut haben, dürft nur da herumkommen—denn da—denn da—s' ist gar nit hoch . . . Geht ein jämmerlich Gepurzel an."

Cf. *Prometheus*, II, 123 ff.:

"Mir scheint der Junge Löwenmut zu haben,
Nur muss er hübsch auf ebnem Wege traben,
Dann wird es ihm gewiss gelingen,
Sich bis an unser Reich heraufschwingen.
Geht hier wieder ein abscheulich Getös an,
Fallen allesammt"

Cf. also *Noah*, v., 136 ff.:

". Im blinden Gedränge
Stürzten sie (the giants) über einander, und von den
ebenen Zinnen
Über die Stufen und Ecken der Pyramide hinunter."

140, 24: "Feldsteine"—cf. *Noah*, I., 55.

141, 1: "Lorgnette"—cf. *Noah*, v., 528-29.

141, 9: "er ist mir aus dem Gelenk gegangen"—cf. *Noah*, v., 569 ff.

"Gog (one of the giants) ganz ergrimmt, langt mit der Hand aus, Noah zu schlagen,
Aber die Hand ward aller Bewegung des Lebens beraubt,
Hing in der Luft erstarrt, bis dass sie Noah berührte."

141, 28: "Apoll"—cf. *Wanderers Sturmlied*, II, 17, 58.

141, 35. Cf. *Noah* I., 85: Japhet perceives from his look-out a strange crowd in the plain:

"Dieses Gewimmel schien ihm wie eines Haufens Ameissen."

141, 36: "Kapriolen"—cf. *Prometheus*, I, 119.
142, 16-17. Here Schubart cannot be meant,

as Sauer seems to suggest. He did not even know, when the *Hofmeister* came out (1774), that Lenz was the author of the drama. Lenz's particular friends in Strassburg were the Actuar Salzmann, Röderer, Haffner, Ott. Ott and Salzmann received portions of Lenz's translation of Plautus, which Lenz communicated to Goethe apparently only later on (*Dram. Nachlass von J. M. R. Lenz*, ed. by Weinhold, p. 10). It is impossible to say whom Lenz has in view. One could even think of Goethe. Cf. the passage in a letter from Lenz to his brother Joh. Christian, Nov. 7, 1774: "Konnt' ich mein edler Bruder! einen bessern Gebrauch von deinem Briefe . . . machen, als dass ich ihn einem zweyten Du . . . meinem Bruder Goethe . . . zuschickte und dein Glück mit ihm theilte? Wie ich denn nichts geheimes für den haben kann" (*Sitz. Ber.*, u. s. w., 26). Cf. also Goethe's account of his relations to Lenz in *D. u. W.*

142, 22: "Lenz an einem einsamen Orte"—cf. Milton's *Par. Lost*. II, 546 ff.:

. "Others, more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
. and complain that Fate
Free Virtue should enthrall to Force or Chance."

The lines 555 ff. in the same passage suggested probably *P. g.* 139, 28 ff.:

. "In discourse more sweet
Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute."

143, 5: "herabhängend"—cf. *Noah*, I., 58: "hangender Rand," 68: "mit hochhangenden Gärten;" also *Messias* IV., 1337: "herhangend."

143, 10. Cf. Goethe's poem, *Der unverschämte Gast*, publ. Sept., 1774.

143, 15: "Gelehrtenneide"—cf. *F. v. Hagedorns poet. Werke*, publ. by J. J. Eschenburg, 4. part, 25:

"Ich habe es oft für eine nicht geringe Glückseligkeit gehalten, dass es niemals mein Beruf gewesen ist, nicht hat sein können, ein Gelehrter zu heissen . . . Dafür habe ich die beruhigende Erlaubniss, bei Spaltungen und Fehden der Gelehrten nichts zu entscheiden."

143, 35: "und Geld machen obenein"—Refers perhaps to the price offered Febr. 28, 1775, by S. C. Ackermann and F. S. Schröder in Hamburg for the best drama (*Deu. Litt. D. d. 18. u. 19. J.*, vol. 32, ix ff.).

144, 10: "wirft ihnen ein Seil zu."—Taken from *Noah* v., 658 ff., where Raphael by divine command spreads a net in order to intercept the balloon of Adramelech.

144, 10-11: "die Journalisten verwandeln sich in Schmeissfliegen und besetzen ihn von oben bis unten"—cf. Nicolai, etc., 367: "Was das für 'n Junge war, der Werther. Gut, edel, stark. Und wie sie 'n verkannt haben. Da kamen die Schmeissfliegen, setzten sich auf 'n."—Cf. also *Prometheus* II. 264-266.

144, 12. Cf. Nicolai, etc., 369.

144, 20-23. Cf. Voss' well-known apostrophe to Klopstock: "Was ist Milton, was ist Virgil und Homer gegen den Messiasänger?"

144, 35: "Strich wider die Natur"—cf. Goethe's poem, *Künstlers Abendlied*.

144, 36 ff.: "die Antwort die der König von Preussen einem gab."—One day when Frederick the Great made a short stay in a provincial town of his kingdom, he was met by the burgomaster, who commenced his address of welcome by saying: "O halber Gott, du grosser Friederich." The king interrupted him by the sarcastic remark: "O ganzer Narr, du kleiner Dieterich," whereby the address was brought to a sudden close. Dieterich was the burgomaster's name (*Characteristic Anecdotes, etc., of Frederick II.*, by B. H. Latrobe, London, 1788, p. 124).

145, 5-6. Cf. *Prometheus*, I. 263.

145, 13: "Verfall der Künste"—cf. Lenz's translation: "Johannes Ludovikus Vives von Verderbniss der Künste," made at Strassburg (*Sitz. Ber.*, u. s. w., 8).

145, 16: "auf allen Vieren"—cf. *Prometheus*, I. 99.

145, 18-19: "Maler der menschlichen Gesellschaft."

"Gemählde" frequently used by Lenz; so in the title of his *Sizil. Vesper.*, in a letter to Merck (1775), in his *Anmerk. über's Theater* (*Ges. Schriften* II., 207, 216), and elsewhere.

SECOND ACT.

The idea of the passing of the poets in review may have been suggested to Lenz by the fourth book of Pope's *Dunciad* and by *Prometheus*, perhaps also by Schmid's article.

146, 2: "Tempel des Ruhms"—cf. *Dunciad*, fourth book. Lenz worked 1780 on a poem, *Der*

Tempel der Freundschaft (*Die Sizil. Vesper.*, ed. by Weinhold, 59).

146, 18: "Wenn ihr gute Worte gebt."—This expression was apparently common among the storm-and-stress people. Cf. a letter from J. D. Salzmann to Lenz, June 1776: "Wenn ihr mir gut wort gebt so schick ich's euch" (*Sitz. Ber. u. s. w.*, 29); Nicolai, etc., 368: "spitze Rede geben."

The lines 18–19, although under quotation marks are no quotation; also 149, 5, 12. 164, 31. 158, 31. The quotation marks simply indicate that a new person is speaking.

147, 29: "Ôté la culotte."—Note a similar passage in Rabelais' *La vie de Gar et de Pant.*, fourth book, XLVII. chapter, where the devil is frightened away by the sight of the denuded figure of an old woman (*Oeuvres de Rabelais*, ed. by Johanneau, Paris 1823, vol. 6, 443–447). It is however possible, that Lenz refers only to the general obscenity of Rabelais' writings, which is made obvious especially in the *Songes Drolatiques de Pantagruel* (*ibid.*, vol. 9). Possibly Lenz was acquainted with the coarse drawings of these songs.—Cf. also *Menalk und Mopsus* in Lenz's *Ges. Schriften* III., 70, 75; *Prometheus*, epilogue.

148, 18: "Der ernsthafte Zirkel."—By that Bodmer and Breitinger are not meant, as Sauer suggests; otherwise Uz would not step forward from their midst, as he does in 148, 19. The line refers to the "honetten Damen und Herrn von gutem Ton" in 148, 8.

157, 21: "Ich will nicht nachzeichnen."—This (also 23–24) shows, that Lenz was acquainted with Herder's fundamental ideas on poetry. Herder draws a sharp distinction between "nachbilden" and "nachahmen." He approves the first, disapproves the second, and maintains that poetry must be rooted in the home and in the nation, not in the thoughts and beliefs of outside peoples.

157, 22: "so stell' ich Euch ein paar Menschen hin, wie Ihr sie da vor Euch seht."—Lenz's conception of what the modern tragedy should be, is expressed in a passage of his *Anmerkungen über's Theater*: "Das Trauerstück bei uns war also nie wie bei den Griechen das Mittel, merkwürdige Begebenheiten auf die Nachwelt zu bringen, sondern merkwürdige Personen" (*Ges. Schriften*, II., 227). He also says on the drama in general (*ibid.*, 212): "Es gehört zehnmal mehr dazu, eine

Figur mit eben der Genauigkeit und Wahrheit darzustellen, mit der das Genie sie erkennt, als zehn Jahre an einem Ideal der Schönheit zu zirkeln."

159, 34: "Fabel"—cf. the chapter "Der Teuffel ist vnsers herr Gots affe" in *Agricolas Sprüchwörtersammlung* (in *D. Nat. L.*, vol. 24).

We may infer from the preceding this much: Lenz gets his material from all possible sources; his *P. g.* is simply the precipitate of his rather extensive reading. Lenz doesn't show much originality in subject matter, but in arrangement and composition he is not without genius. It seems to me, that because of these merits of form the *P. g.* ranks, it is true, not with Goethe's *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, but certainly with the *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plunders weilern* and with *Prometheus D. u. s. R.*

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NOTES ON THE SHORTER OLD ENGLISH POEMS.

1. *Wanderer* 77.

The passage *Wanderer* 75–77:

*Swā nū missenlīce geond þisne middangeard
winde biwāwne weallas stondað
hrīme bihworene, hryðge þā ederas,*

contains a word *hryðge*, not occurring elsewhere, of which the precise meaning is not clear. It has been variously interpreted: 'tottering' (Thorpe); 'zerrütet' (Grein); 'in ruins' (Sweet, *Dict.*); 'uprooted' (Gollancz); etc. In texts which mark quantities, it has always been given as short.

If we compare ll. 101–105 of the same poem:

*and þās stānhleoþu stormas cnyssað;
hrīð hrēosende hrūsan bindeð,
wintres wōma, þonne won cymeð,
nīpeð nihtscūa, norþan onsendeð
hrēo haglefare hæleþum on andan,*

a passage dealing with the same theme as the former, it becomes plain that our word is the adjective formed from *hrīð*, *hryðge* (*hrīðge*) with long *i*. *Hrīð* occurs in Old English only here, but its meaning is clear from the context and from the